6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940: 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-